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FOIA Number: 2009-1007-F

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Sarah Wilson

Subseries:

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Folder Title:

Sonia Sotomayor - 2nd Circuit (NY) [4]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Letters in support of Sotomayor for United States Court of Appeals, Second Circuit; RE: Personal addresses and SSN's (partial) (94 pages)	1998	P6/b(6)
002. list	Letters Mailed; RE: Personal addresses (partial) (2 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
003. report	Re: Sonia Sotomayor (3 pages)	nd	P2, P5
004. report	Report (4 pages)	nd	P2, P5
005, list	Board of Governors (partial) (5 pages)	nd	P6/b(6)
006. report	Re: Robert Menendez (partial) (1 page)	nd	P2, P5
007. note	Handwritten note (1 page)	nd	P2, P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records

Counsel's Office Sarah Wilson

OA/Box Number: 15130

FOLDER TITLE:

Sonia Sotomayor - 2nd Circuit (NY) [4]

2009-1007-F db1205

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
 - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 - b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

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Senator Trent Lott, c/o Mr. Steve Seale Senator Patrick Leahy, c/o Mr. Bruce Cohen Senator Patrick Moynihan, c/o M. Tony Bullock

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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Name:

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Address:

SS#:

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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The Honorable Alfonse D'Amato c/o Michael Kinsella United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

June 9, 1998

The Honorable Alfonse D'Amato c/o Michael Kinsella United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

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For all these reasons and because her elevation is of historic importance to the Hispanic community, I look forward to the confirmation of Judge Sotomayor by no later than July 25, 1998, the day we commemorate the 100 years relation between Puerto Rico and the United States

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	Name:	Willpudo 1	Jan trago Valier is	
	Address:			
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As we approach the celebration of the 100 years of United States-Puerto Rico relationship, I hope that Judge Sotomayor's nomination will be given the priority that it deserves. As such, I look forward to the confirmation of Judge Sotomayor by no later than July 25, 1998.

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Address:

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cc: Senator Trent Lott, c/o Mr. Steve Seale Senator Patrick Leahy, c/o Mr. Bruce Cohen Senator Patrick Moynihan, c/o M. Tony Bullock

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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While I applaud your commitment toward Judge Sotomayor's nomination, I urge you to call it colleagues for a more expedited process. I look forward to the confirmation of Judge ayor by no later than July 25, 1998, particularly since that day we celebrate the 100 years of Rico-United States relation.

SEGUNDO RIVERAS

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Name:

MANUEL RAMOS

Address:

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Senator Patrick Leahy, c/o Mr. Bruce Cohen

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Name:

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June 9, 1998

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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PETER B. BLASIN. ATTORNEY AT LAW

31 Whitney Avenue * P.O. Box 503 New Haven, Connecticut 06502-0503 Telephone (203) 562-8164 * Fax (203) 865-2178

June 22, 1998

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Sincerely

Peter B. Blasini Attorney At Law

PBB/dmf

cc: Senator Trent Lott, c/o Mr. Steve Seale Senator Patrick Leahy, c/o Mr. Bruce Cohen

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PETER B. BLASINI ATTORNEY AT LAW

31 Whitney Avenue * P.O. Box 503 New Haven, Connecticut 06502-0503 Telephone (203) 562-8164 * Fax (203) 865-2178

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PHOTOCOPY

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Name:

ANDRES HERNAMDEZ

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Address:

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June 17, 1998

Senator Christopher J. Dodd 444 Senate Russell Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510

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LAW OFFICE OF

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107 OAK STREET

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Post Office Box 66105 • Washington, D.C. 20035 (202) 293-1507 • Fax (202) 293-1508

HISPANIC NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION

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Executive Director

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GRISSELE CAMACHO-PAGÁN Jersey City, NJ

JOSEPH L. ORTEGO

Writer's Direct Address & Phone

Robinson & Cole LLP One Commercial Plaza 280 Trumbull Street Hartford, CT 06103-3597 Fax: 860-275-8299 Rafael A. Santiago 860-275-8247 . Internet: rsantiago@rc.com

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June 15, 1998

Honorable Patrick J. Leahy United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Leahy:

I am the Regional President of the Hispanic National Bar Association for the New England area. I am writing to you on behalf of the nomination of the Honorable Sonia Sotomayor to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. Based on my position as Regional President, I urge you to submit Judge Sotomayor's appointment for immediate confirmation.

The Hispanic National Bar Association's Board of Directors recently met and discussed this issue and has unanimously voted that whatever actions appropriate be taken to ensure Judge Sotomayor's confirmation. Her record and accomplishments speak loud and clear. Exceptional academic career, distinguished record as Federal District Judge and a person of high values and integrity. Judge Sotomayor is a credit to our community and to her country. The Board of Directors of the Hispanic National Bar Association and I believe that Judge Sotomayor will continue to credit both with her appointment to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

I thank you for this opportunity to discuss Judge Sotomayor's capabilities. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Rafael A. Santiago

Very truly yours

Regional President - Region I

CLINTON LIBRARY
PHOTOCOPY

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Address:

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The Honorable Joseph I. Lieberman United States Senate Washington, D.C.

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Name:

May sol Saldajo- Lipex

Address:

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Name: Glorizel Galaiza
Address:

SS#:

June 5, 1998 :

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Name:

Glorizel Galaza

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Name: Carmen D. Cruz-L

Address:

SS#:

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Carmen D. Cruz-Velez

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Name:	Juan	A.	Morales
Address:			
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Name:

Miguel A. Seganna

Address:

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June 5, 1998 🖖

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Name:

Address:

Wen Have legal Assistance Inc

426 State Licet, New Yoren, C7 065/0

SS#:

cc: Senator Trent Lott, c/o Mr. Steve Seale Senator Patrick Leahy, c/o Mr. Bruce Cohen

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Name:

Susan Nili-Berdici

Address:

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		Name:	Edna	Becastai.
		Address:	Ļ	
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		SS#:		-
cc:	Senator Trent Lott, c/o Mr. Steve S Senator Patrick Leahy, c/o Mr. Bru	eale ce Cohen		

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Name:

e: Maula Hananda,

Address:

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Senator Christopher J. Dodd 444 Senate Russell Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510

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		Name:	WALTER	ALTAMIRAN S
		Address:		
		SS#:		600
cc:	Senator Trent Lott, c/o Mr. Steve Sea Senator Patrick Leahy, c/o Mr. Bruce			

Senator Joseph I. Lieberman 316 Hart Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510

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Thank you for your time and your immediate attention to this matter.

Name: <u>Grise/le Corcinodifidro</u>
Signature: <u>Triselle Corridadifis</u>
Address: 1

SS#:_

June 17,1998

Hon. Senator Joseph I Lieberman 316 Hart Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510

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Name: Gra	selle Corcinode Pedeo	
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Address:	•	
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Name: TME (Alon

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Clinton Presidential Records Counsel's Office Sarah Wilson

OA/Box Number: 15130

FOLDER TITLE:

Sonia Sotomayor - 2nd Circuit (NY) [4]

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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A. Manuel Nieves, Esq.	Marysol Knipper
(b)(6)	(p)(e)
Miguel Rios, Esq.	Edna Berastain
Law Offices 669 State Street	(b)(6)
New Haven, Ct. 06511	Glorizel Galarza
Miguel A. Segarra, Esq.	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	Angel Colon
Ruben Acosta, Esq.	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	Griselle Corcino de Pedro
Leslie T. Soler, Esq. The Hartford P. O. Boy 2000	(b)(6)
P.O. Box 2999 Hartford, Ct. 06104-2999	Walter Altamirano
Magali Kupfer	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	Rafael Santiago, Esq. Robinson & Cole
Juan Alvarez	One Commercial Plaza 280 Trumbull Street Hartford, Ct. 06103-3597
Susan Noli-Berdici New Haven Legal Assistance, Inc. 426 State Street	Maria Luis de Castro Foden, Esq. (b)(6)
New Haven, Ct. 06510	Carmen D. Cruz-Velez
Marilu Hernandez (b)(6)	(b)(6)
Juan Morales	Evelyn Gonzalez
(b)(6)	(b)(6)

Felix Serrrano
(b)(6)
Carlos Bonett
(b)(6)
Betsy de la Cruz
(p)(e)
Irvin Guidicelli
(b)(6)
Andres Hernandez
(b)(6)
Peter B. Blasini, Esq.
(b)(6)
Ramona Espinoza
(b)(6)
Edna Garcia State Representative
(b)(6)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. report	Re: Sonia Sotomayor (3 pages)	nd	P2, P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records Counsel's Office Sarah Wilson

OA/Box Number: 15130

FOLDER TITLE:

Sonia Sotomayor - 2nd Circuit (NY) [4]

2009-1007-F db1205

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors (a)(5) of the PRA)
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The AYA Board of Governors sets the direction and goals for the Assembly delegation and the Association. This executive body of the AYA is comprised of twenty-one members elected by the delegates from their number, four officers and six ex-officiis members. The Board meets a minimum of four times each year to receive reports of the AYA committees, act on policy questions contained in these reports, consider and determine Assembly topics, approve the budget and review the operational plan for the AYA. The Board is responsive to the will of the delegates. The Board participates in the nomination of candidates for election as Alumni Fellow to the Yale Corporation and in the selection of recipients of the Yale Medal, and establishes the committee structure of the Association within the framework of the AYA Constitution.

Officers

Robert Bradner '53

Chair_

(b)(6)

(847) 441-5617 (Fax) bobbradner@aol.com

Rafael A. Porrata-Doria, Jr. '77 JD Vice-Chair
Temple University
Law Center
1719 N. Broad St.
Philadelphia, PA 19122
(215) 204-7694 (B)
(215) 204-1185 (Fax)
porrata1@vm.temple.edu

Roger H. Thompson '64
Secretary
111 E. Broadway
Suite 1200
Salt Lake City, UT 84111
(801) 532-6143 (B)
(801) 532-6159 (Fax)
75144.3211@compuserve.com

Maureen O. Doran '71 MSN Treasurer 900 S. Garfield St. Denver, CO 80209 (303) 388-1451 (B) (303) 744-6323 (Fax) 74444.3204@compuserve.com

Members

William H. Baker '68 Sears, Roebuck & Co. 3333 Beverly Rd. B6-360B Hoffman Estates, IL 60179 (847) 286-3868 (B) (847) 286-3363 (Fax) wbakerz@sears.com

Philip G. Boyle '71 Sherin & Lodgen 100 Summer St. Boston, MA 02110 (617) 426-5720 (B) (617) 542-5186 (Fax) pgboyle@sherin.com

George E. Buchanan '59, '62 BArch

(203) 787-4896 (B) (203) 495-6321 (Fax) geojos@aol.com

Margaret C. Chen '90 Cambridge Associates, Inc. One Winthrop Square Boston, MA 02110 (617) 457-7500 (B) (617) 457-7501 (Fáx) mchen@cambridg.com

Maryel K. Davis '70 MSN

(b)(6)

(203) 785-2154 (B) (b)(6)

marvkdavis@aol.com

Allison Day '90_

(b)(6)

(718) 638-5000, x. 227 (B) (718) 783-6501 (Fax)

(b)(6) allisonday@aol.com

Edward A. Dennis '63 University of California, San Diego 9500 Gilman Dr. La Jolla, CA 92093-0601 (619) 534-3055 (B) (619) 534-7390 (Fax) edennis@ucsd.edu

C. Dean Dusseault '59 Ropes & Gray One International Place Boston, MA 02110 (617) 951-7467 (B) (617) 951-7050 (Fax) 693-4354@mcimail.com

Richard J. Fates '67 Bank of Boston - Worcester 100 Front St. MS 72-20-03 Worcester, MA 01608-1438 (508) 770-7010 (B) (508) 770-7710 (Fax)

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(b)(6) rjfates@aol.com

Belmont Freeman '73

(b)(6)

(212) 382-3311 (B)

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(212) 730-1229 (Fax)

(b)(6)

btarch@aol.com
```

Joyce-Marie Garay '84
Bell & Nunnally, PLLC
3232 McKinney Ave., Suite 1400
Dallas, TX 75204-2429
(214) 740-1412 (B)
(214) 740-1499 (Fax)
(b)(6)

joyceg%2010368@mcimail.com

David H. Gibson '78

(b)(6)

(203) 752-3115 (B) (203) 752-9291 (Fax)

(b)(6) lcoxdgib@sprynet.com

Ted Gray '72 P.O. Box 2046 Austin, TX 78768 (512) 457-4353 (B) (512) 472-3017 (Fax) elsabio@msn.com

Anne W. Jaskoski '75 5850 Canoga Ave., Suite 400 Woodland Hills, CA 91367 (818) 999-9092 (B) (818) 999-9103 (Fax)

Jane Mendillo 80, 84 MPPM

(b)(6)

(617) 720-4847 (B) (617) 523-7039 (Fax) (b)(6)

Jonathan Q. Mills '69

(b)(6)

(203) 359-6148 (B) (203) 359-6146 (Fax)

(b)(6)

James_O'Neill_'90_

(b)(6)

(713) 853-9756 (B) (713) 853-6790 (Fax)

(b)(6) james.oneiii.es.yu@aya.yale.edu

Patti_Raksin_'92_

(b)(6)

(312) 942-7277. x. 4 185 (B)

(b)(6)

praksin@rpslmc.edu

Jonathan C. Rose '63 Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue 1450 G. St. N.W., Suite 700 Washington, D.C. 20005-2088 (202) 879-3888 (B)

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(202) 737-2832 (Fax) [(b)(6)] jonrosel@aol.com

Wheaton C. Vaughan '59

(b)(6)

(248) 828-0312 (B) (248) 828-6890 (Fax) wheaton_vaughan@em.fcnbd.com

William L. Yuen '68, '70 MCP 1001 Bishop St.
Pacific Tower, Suite 2700 Honolulu, HI 96813 (808) 524-8880 (B) (808) 524-7764 (Fax) (b)(6) 104020.1150@compuserve.com

Ex Officiis

Harvey M. Applebaum '59 Covington & Burling 1201 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. PO Box 7566 Washington, DC 20044-7566 (202) 662-5626 (B) (202) 662-6291 (Fax)

Conner M. Fay '51_

(b)(6)

(914) 238-1326 (Fax) conner.fay@yale.edu

Rebecca H. Friedman 198

(b)(6)

becker@minerva.cis.yale.edu

Paul L. Joskow '70 MPhil, '72 PhD Department of Economics E52-280B MIT Cambridge, MA 02139 pjoskow@mitvma.mit.edu

John C. Kane, Jr. '67 Ropes and Gray One International Place Boston, MA 02110-2624 (617) 951-7775 (B) (617) 951-7050 (Fax) jkane@ropesgray.com

John J. Lee '58, '59MS

(b)(6)

(203) 969-0666 (B) (203) 358-3975 (Fax)

Hamang Patel '99

(b)(6)

Kimberly Taylor 199 (b)(6) kimberly taylor@yale.edu

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Clinton Presidential Records

Counsel's Office Sarah Wilson

OA/Box Number: 15130

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NEW JERSEY

[COS]

13 Robert Menendez (D)

Of Union City — Elected 1992, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Jan. 1, 1954, New York, N.Y. Education: St. Peter's College, B.A. 1976; Rutgers U., J.D.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Jane Jacobsen, two children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Union City Board of Education, 1974-78; mayor of Union City, 1986-92; N.J. Assembly, 1987-91; N.J. Senate, 1991-92.

Capitol Office: 405 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-7919.



International Relations
Africa (ranking); Western Hemisphere

Transportation & Infrastructure

Surface Transportation; Water Resources & Environ

Chief Deputy Whip



In Washington: Menendez, the son of Cuban immigrants, takes pride in being the first Hispanic to represent New Jérsey in the House, but in Congress he tries to be a voice for all the constituents in the ethnically diverse, heavily urbanized 13th. (Union City is the most densely populated

municipality in the nation's most densely populated state.) In the 105th Congress, Menendez has a chance to use that voice on a wider playing field in his new role as one of four chief deputy whips for House Democrats. The leadership picked him to replace Bill Richardson of New Mexico, who resigned from the House in 1997 to become ambassador to the United Nations.

Menendez has been a steady supporter of the Clinton administration. As a freshman in the 103rd Congress, he called the president's five-year deficit-reduction plan "fair to everyone," and he supported Clinton's effort to overhaul the nation's health care system, noting that 25 percent of his district's residents did not have health insurance.

With Republicans running the show in the 104th Congress, Menendez voted a staunchly liberal line, siding with abortion rights advocates, organized labor and gun control proponents against the House's conservative majority.

Having voted in the 103rd for a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases and a ban on semiautomatic assault-style weapons, he opposed a GOP-backed initiative in 1996 to repeal the assault-weapons ban. "Street thugs are not my idea of a well-regulated militia," he once said.

One of his rare breaks with the White House came on the issue of welfare overhaul. He was one of only two New Jersey House members who voted in 1996 against the final welfare bill eventually signed into law by Clintón. "I didn't run for Congress to vote to increase poverty and suffering, and it's a sad day when members of Congress happily and without shame would do so," Menendez said.

Previously, Menendez had turned away from

Clinton on NAFTA, arguing that lower Mexican tariffs would lead U.S. companies to invest less in creating jobs domestically.

Jobs were also on Menendez's mind when he spoke out against the Pentagon's proposal to close a post in Bayonne as part of the final round of base closings. He said the Army's study of the facility's economic impact and the military value was "replete with faulty analysis."

On the International Relations Committee, Menendez is active on issues important to his Cuban-American constituents. He spoke out against an amendment on a bill to reauthorize the State Department that would have promoted international cultural contacts with Cuba Menendez charged that such exchanges would provide Fidel Castro's regime with desperately needed hard currency.

He also has proposed legislation to provide U.S. financial aid to Cuba in the event Castro is no longer in power and there is a transitional government committed to democracy. He said his program of financial, educational and humanitarian assistance would send a signal of U.S. "solidarity" with Cuba's "enslaved" people.

In the 104th, Menendez opposed efforts to eliminate \$11 million in the fiscal 1997 Commerce, Justice, State appropriations bill for TV Marti, the station that beams U.S. programs to Cuba. "I am shocked that this cut could survive the Republican-led Appropriations Committee and the Republican-led House," he said.

He backed the Helms-Burton bill designed to punish foreign companies that invest in Cuba. He helped broker a deal with Clinton to sign a modified version of the legislation, completing negotiations with the White House shortly after Cuban military planes shot down two civilian aircraft being flown toward the island nation by Cuban-American opponents of Castro, killing four. Menendez said the deal sent a "very strong bipartisan message that we will not allow our citizens to be gunned down in cold blood."

He also responded to the shooting by calling on Clinton to revoke the visas of Cuban officials working in the Cuban Interest sections in Washington and New York, and for the United Nations to impose economic sanctions.

NEW JERSEY

Not far from the place that welcomed the tired, the poor and the huddled masses yearning to be free rests Jersey City, a modernday melting pot. Ellis Island, the one-time processing point for countless numbers of immigrants, and the Statue of Liberty are appropriately situated a short ferry ride from the city's Liberty State Park. Although the subject is of some dispute, city boosters say the statue is within city limits.

Legendary political boss Frank "I Am the Law" Hague's machine controlled Hudson County politics from 1917 to the late 1940s, oiled by the votes of those white, working-class European immigrants. But now more than half the votes in Jersey City come from minorities, many of whom came in a second wave of immigration, primarily from Spanish-speaking countries.

About half of Jersey City — the state's second-largest city — is in the 13th, with the rest shared between the 9th and 10th districts. This portion consists mainly of the city's eastern parts, including the downtown area, which has experienced some gentrification as young professionals have moved across the Hudson River.

There are Russian immigrants living downtown and scattered pockets of Indian, Korean and Filipino immigrants, but blacks and Hispanics together make up more than half the city's population.

The local Hispanic community is far from monolithic; it consists of immigrants from more than 20 countries. The 13th as a whole has a Hispanic population of 41 percent, though Hispanics constitute a much smaller percentage of registered voters. Yet Democrat Robert Menendez won the 13th seat in 1992 to become New Jersey's first Hispanic House member.

NEW JERSEY 13Parts of Jersey City and Newark

The Hispanic communities are scattered across the district, as far south as Elizabeth (Union County) and Perth Amboy (Middlesex County). Union City, North Bergen, Guttenberg and especially West New York have politically active Cuban communities that tend to vote Republican at the presidential level and Democratic in local elections.

Outside those Republican votes, the GOP presence is muted. The various Hispanic communities and large numbers of blue-collar whites favor Democrats. Bill Clinton outpolled Bob Dole by a ratio of more than 3-to-1 in the district in 1996 while Menendez did better than that.

Another Hudson County locale that has been gentrified is Hoboken, where young professionals have taken over the city's eastern section. The city may be better known, though, as Frank Sinatra's birthplace and the setting for the 1954 film "On the Waterfront."

From Hudson County, the 13th extends to Newark (Essex County) to siphon Puerto Rican and Italian voters from the city's north and east wards.

Middlesex and Union counties also contribute voters, but on a smaller scale. All of Perth Amboy and Carteret along with a small portion of suburban Woodbridge make up about 10 percent of the district. Parts of Elizabeth and Linden round out the Union County contingent.

1990 Population: 594,630. White 400,803 (67%), Black 81,305 (14%), Other 112,522 (19%). Hispanic origin 246,715 (41%). 18 and over 454,356 (76%), 62 and over 87,646 (15%). Median age: 32.

"A country that cannot observe international law is not a country that should be receiving aid from the United Nations, which promotes international law," he said.

In the fiscal 1996 foreign operations appropriations bill, he sponsored an amendment to reduce aid to Moscow by the amount it spends to help complete a nuclear plant in Cuba. Several law-makers said the plant had safety problems that could ultimately pose a risk to the southeastern United States.

And, in an unusual move, Clinton selected Menendez to present an anti-Cuba resolution to the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Usually, diplomats are chosen for the task. The resolution, which criticized Cuba for jailing and harassing dissident groups and for not cooperating with a U.N. investigator assigned to document human rights abuses, was approved by a wide margin. "The resolution outlines the concerns of the United States and other countries that are

with us in regard to the human rights questions in Cuba," Menendez told the Star-Ledger of Newark.

He also is interested in Northern Ireland. Early in 1994, he urged the Clinton administration to grant an entry visa to Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Army's political arm. He said the visa issue is "symbolic of our commitment to an honest and fair resolution of the Northern Ireland question."

While serving on International Relations gives Menendez a role in world affairs, he tends to matters close to home from his seat on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

He has worked to obtain federal funds to dredge the Port of New York and New Jersey, saying that the port would lose business and jobs to Canada if it was not dredged.

He crossed swords with Transportation Chairman Bud Shuster after the Pennsylvania Republican overcame organized labor's opposition and pushed through an ocean shipping bill in 1996.

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NEW JERSEY

The bill, which would partially deregulate the shipping industry, was backed by many large carriers and shippers who want more leeway in setting their rates. But many port authorities and labor leaders opposed it, fearing that it could cost jobs and lead to a consolidation of the shipping industry.

Menendez said lawmakers and lobbyists who opposed the legislation were threatened with reprisals. He first made the assertion on the House floor during the May debate on the bill.

The message from Shuster's committee, Menendez said, was: "If you continue to mount opposition to this bill, there will be consequences to it." He said the committee leadership threatened to use its power over such issues as the dredging of ports to force opponents to knuckle under. "The breadth and scope and intensity with which it was done, I think, was unusual," said Menendez, who voted against the bill.

'At Home: As chairman of the state Assembly's taxation subcommittee in 1990, Menendez carried then-Gov. James J. Florio's \$2.8 billion income tax bill, despite the risk of political consequences. He argued that the measure benefited his Hudson County constituency by easing a disproportionate property tax burden, boosting aid for municipalities, especially for schools, and stabilizing the tax base.

For his troubles, Menendez suffered no electoral consequences. He was appointed to fill a state Senate vacancy in early 1991 and the following November was elected to that seat.

Menendez is a lifelong Democrat, unusual for a Cuban-American politician, and an affiliation that he says reflects his belief in an activist government. He won his first election to the School Board in 1974 while still in college. He became mayor of Union City in May 1986 and simultaneously served in the Legislature beginning in January 1987.

Redistricting for the 1990s nearly doubled the 13th's Hispanic population, but that may not have been the most important factor in Democratic Rep. Frank J. Guarini's decision to retire after 14 years in the House. It did provide Menendez with a strong incentive to consider the race. And once Guarini decided to step down, Menendez found himself with a virtually clear field for the primary and general election.

He faced Jersey City lawyer Robert P. Haney Jr. in the Democratic primary and a host of candidates in the general election, including Republican Fred J. Theemling Jr., who had lost twice to Guarini. Menendez won the primary with 68 percent of the vote and the general with 64 percent. In both cases, turnout was light, which could be attributable to typically low voter participation among Hispanics.

Running for re-election in 1996, he easily dispatched a primary challenge from an anti-abortion Democrat and polled more than three-fourths of the vote against Republican nominee Carlos E. Munoz.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General Robert Menendez (D) Carlos E. Munoz (R) Herbert H. Shaw (PAC) Mike Buoncristiano (LIBERT)	115,459 25,427 2,136 2,094	(79%) (17%) (1%) (1%)
1996 Primary Robert Menendez (D) Christopher Curioli (D)	34,685 2,685	(93%) (7%)
1994 General Robert Menendez (D) Fernando A. Alonso (R) Frank J. Rubino Jr. (WTP) Herbert H. Shaw (PAC)	67,688 24,071 1,494 1,319	(71%) (25%) (2%) (1%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (64%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expend- itures
1996 Menendez (D)	\$908,485	\$247,050 (27%)	\$379,469
Buoncristiano (LIBERT)	\$18,769	0	\$18,449
1994 Menendez (D) Alonso (R)	\$626,358 \$6,160	\$213,700 (34%) \$14 (0%)	\$488,448 \$6,159

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996			1992
	7,241 (72%)	D	95,144 (54%)
	5,482 (22%) 8 509 (5%)	R	64,727 (37%) 14,911 (9%)
	ומככו ואוריא		14.311 (2/9)

KEY VOTES

VOTING STUDIES

Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative		
Year 1996 1995 1994 1993	\$ 77 83 79 81	0 19 15 21 17	5 91 87 95 90	5 11 4 8	S 25 28 31 41	71 72 69 59

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	ccus	ACU
1996	85	n/a	19	5
1995	90	100	21	17
1994	90	89	50	5
1993	90	100	18	9

21 Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R)

Of Miami — Elected 1992, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Aug. 13, 1954, Havana, Cuba.

Education: U. of South Florida, B.A. 1976; Case Western

Reserve U., J.D. 1979. Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Cristina Fernandez; two children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Democratic nominee for Fla. House, 1982;

Fla. House, 1987-89; Fla. Senate, 1989-92.

Capitol Office: 404 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4211.

Committees

Rules

Rules & Organization of the House



In Washington: Diaz-Balart's choice committee seat — he serves on Rules — reflects the GOP's eagerness to showcase the minority members of the party. But the staunchly conservative tone of the GOP House caused Diaz-Balart to rebel against some key elements of the

Republican legislative agenda in the 104th Congress, including bills overhauling the welfare system, curbing illegal immigration and designating English as the federal government's official language. He also tends to support the positions of organized labor, putting him at odds with the GOP's pro-business majority.

But Diaz-Balart's principal goal in Congress has been to keep the economic pressure on the government of Cuba, the nation where he was born, in hopes of ultimately overthrowing Cuban President Fidel Castro. His dedication to Cuban democracy resulted in his arrest outside the White House in May 1995 for protesting the Clinton administration's policy of repatriating Cuban refugees picked up at sea. Diaz-Balart called the policy a "dirty, secret and immoral deal."

An immigrant to America, like his Florida Republican colleague Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Diaz-Balart refused to sign the House GOP's 1994 "Contract With America" campaign platform. He objected to provisions in its welfare overhaul section that called for denying federal programs to legal immigrants. He and Ros-Lehtinen continued to argue against the provisions as the welfare bill made its way through the 104th. They were the only two Republicans to vote against the bill's final version.

When the House first passed the GOP welfare bill in March 1995, Diaz-Balart said he was "very disappointed" that the bill would deny legal immigrants who have not yet become citizens access to certain government programs, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps and Medicaid.

"I think that ban is unfair. I think it is unneces-

sary," he said. "I think there is somewhat of an element of irrationality involved because a great percentage of those who may be ineligible, because they are not citizens, will become citizens, so the savings will be minimal at best from the point of view of those who say this ban will save the government money."

He also reacted strongly to a measure that aimed to curb illegal immigration, complaining that the measure was unnecessarily anti-immigrant. "It's simply targeting people because of their political vulnerability," Diaz-Balart said. Both he and Ros-Lehtinen voted against it.

The immigration bill was stalled most of 1996 because of a provision in the House bill that would have allowed states to deny illegal immigrants public schooling. In the end, House conferees agreed to drop the provision, in exchange for a vote on it as a free-standing bill. The House passed it in September 1996, 254-175, but it went no further.

"We do not blame the children for the conduct of their parents," Diaz-Balart said, adding that it would be "a grave mistake" to adopt the schooling measure. "That, among other reasons, is why we are the moral leader of the world."

Their unhappiness with the welfare and immigration bills caused Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen in March 1996 to rejoin the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, which is dominated by House Democrats. They had dropped out at the start of the 104th Congress to comply with the spirit of the GOP move to do away with such organizations. But they later decided it was important to show unity as anti-immigrant feelings began to grow throughout the country.

However, in January 1997, Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen resigned again from the caucus, this time to protest that its chairman, Xavier Becerra, D-Calif., took a trip to Cuba in December 1996.

Diaz-Balart also took exception to a bill declaring English the official language of the federal government, which the House passed, 259-169, in August 1996.

Besides requiring that all official government business be conducted in English, the measure, which was not considered by the Senate, also of South Florida's two Hispanic-majority districts, the 21st is the newest both politically and in its history as a Hispanic stronghold.

The 21st is immediately west of the black-majority 17th District and Hispanic-majority 18th. While the focus of the 18th is Little Havana, where 1960s Cuban exiles settled, the 21st centers on Hialeah, where many of those exiles later relocated.

Although Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen hoped to amass as many Cuban-Americans as possible into her 18th District, the 21st actually has the state's highest percentage of Hispanics, 70 percent. Republicans make impressive showings here. Bob Dole captured 50 percent of the vote here in 1996, George Bush took 58 percent in 1992. Diaz-Balart rarely has a Democratic challenger.

Much of the district's fierce Republicanism can be traced to Hialeah, which accounts for about one-third of district residents. Hialeah began growing rapidly after World War II, when many soldiers who trained in South Florida moved to the area. In the 1960s and 1970s, it became increasingly popular with middle-to-low-income Cuban-Americans looking for more space than they could find in Miami. Its location near the airport made it accessible to jobs there, and it offered a mix of midsize single-family homes and apartment complexes.

Hialeah also has a large industrial area. Much of the apparel industry there has been struggling recently with competition from imports, especially from Caribbean Basin countries that have cheaper labor costs. The package delivery company UPS has its main South

FLORIDA 21 Southeast — Part of Dade County; Hialeah

Florida facility near here. Also present is the Hialeah racetrack. Politicians make a point of stopping by Chico's to eat black beans and rice, drink Cuban coffee and shake hands.

Farther south is Miami Springs, a largely Republican and Anglo bedroom suburb of Miami. An unincorporated area west of the airport, known as Doral, is growing fast thanks to industry and corporate relocations. Ryder Systems, with its truck and airplane rentals, has its world headquarters here. Carnival Cruise Lines, a district office of the Federal Reserve and IVAX, a biotechnology company, also are in the area. There is also some light industry, primarily distribution centers with economic ties to the airport. Sweetwater, another predominantly Hispanic municipality, attracts Cubans and Nicaraguans and has a high concentration of elderly residents.

The fast-growing area of Kendall in the district is generally Anglo; it also has some second-generation Cuban-Americans. It is considerably more Democratic than the district as a whole. Kendall Lakes is more compact, conservative and older. Tamiami is a generally Hispanic area, with young professionals in single-family homes and a strong Republican orientation.

1990 Population: 562,519. White 492,513 (88%), Black 23,073 (4%), Other 46,933 (8%). Hispanic origin 391,534 (70%). 18 and over 424,355 (75%), 62 and over 70,384 (13%). Median age: 33.

repealed a federal law mandating that states with large concentrations of non-English speaking voters provide bilingual ballots. That section of the bill riled Diaz-Balart.

"I say that portion, the Voting Rights Act portion of this legislation, which constitutes aggression on linguistic minorities in this country, is anti-democratic," he told the House.

Diaz-Balart is sympathetic to the concerns of labor unions. He voted for a Democratic-backed bill raising the minimum wage by 90 cents an hour and against a GOP measure that would have exempted small businesses from the wage boost. He also has opposed a measure that would have allowed companies to offer their workers compensatory time off in lieu of overtime pay. Labor groups said the bill might lead to companies coercing workers to take whatever form of compensation management preferred.

But it was his focus on ways to continue to isolate Castro that mostly occupied Diaz-Balart in the 104th. He blasted the Clinton administration for its opposition to the so-called Helms-Burton

bill — named for its sponsors, Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina and Indiana Republican Rep. Dan Burton — that aimed to punish foreign companies that invest in Cuba.

Clinton ended up supporting the measure after February 1996, when Cuban military planes shot down two civilian aircraft being flown toward the island nation by Cuban-American opponents of Castro, killing four.

After intense negotiations with the administration, House and Senate conferees hammered out a final bill that was harder on Castro's government than either the original House or Senate bill.

At the administration's request, the conferees gave the president power to postpone indefinitely legal action authorized by the bill, either by delaying the effective date of the provision or by suspending the right to bring lawsuits. But they added tough new restrictions barring executives from foreign companies that "traffic " in expropriated properties claimed by a U.S. national, along with their families, from entering the United

States. The measure was sharply criticized by Canada and the European Union.

In July 1996, Clinton allowed the lawsuit provision to take effect, but exercised the option to block legal actions for at least six months, which he did again in January 1997. That effort to find the middle ground caused Diaz-Balart to argue that Clinton had caved in to pressure from foreign economic interests. "Character of Jell-O, backbone of Jell-O," said Diaz-Balart, "that's what President Clinton demonstrated today."

But administration officials contended that the threat of imminent lawsuits should be enough to persuade overseas companies and investors to pull out of Cuba and help bring down the Castro regime.

Also included in the Cuba sanctions bill was a provision pushed by Diaz-Balart designed to bolster the ability of a government-funded television station, TV Marti, to beam independent news and entertainment into Cuba. The shows are rarely seen because its single television signal is routinely blocked by Cuban jammers.

The sanctions bill would allow TV Marti to switch broadcast frequencies from VHF to UHF channels, which Diaz-Balart said would be harder to jam. He said Cuba would have to scramble to jam signals that could be received throughout the island on a variety of channels because jamming equipment in Havana is immobile and not designed to block UHF signals. But the failure of TV Marti to penetrate the wall of jamming has prompted some lawmakers to call for scrapping it

entirely.

At Home: Diaz-Balart was born in Havana to a prosperous and politically active family. His grandfather, father and uncle served in Cuba's House before the family fled to the United States in 1960.

Diaz-Balart secured his 1992 election to the House by first working overtime as a state senator to ensure that Miami would have a second Hispanic-majority district after redistricting. Ultimately, it took a court-drawn plan to accomplish what a deadlocked Legislature and Diaz-Balart's efforts could not.

He then easily bested a fellow Cuban-American state senator in a two-way Republican primary that turned personal and nasty. That hurdle cleared, in November he drew no Democratic opposition.

Diaz-Balart won the primary against Javier D. Souto, a less polished fellow state senator whose anti-Castro credentials were more impeccable in the exile community than Diaz-Balart's. Souto also fled Cuba in 1960 and trained in the United States for an invasion of Cuba. He later infiltrated the country to set up organized resistance to Castro. Souto ran a less visible, less well-financed campaign, and despite his amiable style, he tried to make an issue over whose anti-Castro rhetoric was more believable. The negative campaigning seemed to backfire. He managed only 31 percent to Diaz-Balart's 69 percent, in a sparse, hurricane-delayed primary. Since then, Diaz-Balart has had no major-party challenger.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (100%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts Expend- from PACs itures
1996 Diaz-Balart (R)	\$381,906	\$174,316 (46%) \$130,085
1994 Diaz-Balart (R)	\$ 357,384	\$123,103 (34%) \$125,082

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

	1996		1992
D	72,892 (45%)	D	47,576 (32%)
R	82,413 (50%)	R	86,187 (58%)
I	7,903 (5%)	!	15,852 (11%)

KEY VOTES

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VOTING STUDIES

	Presid Supi		Party Unity		Conservative	
Year 1996 1995 1994 1993	\$ 49 26 60 60	O 47 74 38 38	S 75 87 71 75	22 12 29 23	S 88 96 78 75	0 10 3 19 23

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

	6144 t (mayor)	,, 4		
Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	ccus	ACU
1996	30	n/a	60	60
1995	20	25	7 9	72
1994	25	78	83	71
1993	35	83	73	75

16 Jose E. Serrano (D)

Of the Bronx — Elected 1990; 4th full term

Biographical Information

Born: Oct. 24, 1943, Mayaguez, P.R. Education: Dodge Vocational H.S., 1961. Military Service: Army Medical Corps, 1964-66.

Occupation: Public official.

Family: Wife, Mary Staucet; five children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: N.Y. Assembly, 1975-90; sought Democratic nomination for Bronx borough president, Capitol Office: 2342 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4361.

Committees

Appropriations
Agriculture, Rural Development, FDA & Related Agencies;
Legislative Branch (ranking)



In Washington: When the House Democratic leadership set about making key committees "look more like America" in 1993, the Puerto Rico-born Serrano received a seat on the Appropriations Committee. When America voted in 1994 to put Republicans in charge of the House,

Serrano got bumped off Appropriations as his party's allotment of seats on the panel was cut.

But in an odd twist of circumstance, more good news for the GOP put Serrano back on Appropriations midway through the 104th Congress: After Mississippi Democratic Rep. Mike Parker switched parties, the GOP leadership added two seats to Appropriations — one for their new convert Parker, and one for the Democrats to fill. Serrano reclaimed his place.

Serrano was a 15-year veteran of the New York Assembly before coming to Washington, and he looks for ways to play the role of legislative insider. In the 105th Congress, though, he failed in his quest to be selected one of his party's four chief deputy whips. The whip post came open after Bill Richardson, D-N.M., left the House to become ambassador to the United Nations. Democratic leaders chose Robert Menendez of New Jersey over Serrano to succeed Richardson.

Serrano remains a vice chairman of the Democratic Steering Committee, the leadership panel that makes committee assignments. And in the 105th, he became ranking member on Appropriations' Legislative Branch Subcommittee, which handles funding for Congress' own operations.

On that subcommittee in the 104th, Serrano successfully fought efforts by Republicans to require the Architect of the Capitol to study the feasibility of placing a "debt clock" on the grounds of the U.S. Capitol to continuously flash the accumulated national debt. The provision was added by the subcommittee over Democratic objections in June 1996. But as the full committee considered the bill later that month, subcommit-

In Washington: When the House Democratic leader-ship set about making key tee chairman Ron Packard, R-Calif., moved to strip the provision from the bill. Packard's motion was adopted by voice vote.

Packard was eyeing the fact that Serrano had come to the full committee armed with 10 amendments that he planned to offer if Republicans persisted in pushing the debt clock. Serrano's amendments proposed studying the feasibility of placing an array of "clocks" on the Capitol grounds that would flash figures on a variety of statistics, including the number of reported cases of child abuse, of homeless families and of children lost to drugs. These subjects are "just as important as finding out how much we owe," Serrano explained.

In returning to Appropriations, Serrano resigned his seat on the Judiciary Committee. Shortly after moving to Judiciary, he ridiculed efforts by the Republican majority to limit congressional terms. "This has to be one of the silliest issues to come before this country in a long, long time," he said in February 1995. "I think instead of dealing with poverty in America, we're dealing with a parking spot."

During his 15 months on Judiciary, Serrano was a leading voice against Republican efforts to restrict immigration. In September 1995, he challenged legislation aimed at significantly limiting legal immigration and cracking down on those who enter or stay in the country unlawfully. "Shame on us," said Serrano, charging his colleagues with using immigrants as scapegoats. "It is easier to beat up on a dishwasher than it is to beat up on the Pentagon."

In October 1995, he fought efforts to make English the official language of the United States and to ban federally sponsored bilingual education programs. Serrano argued that the drive to succeed economically provides ample incentive for learning English. "When Hispanics sit around the dinner table, we don't plot how to make Spanish the official language," he said.

He splits from most Hispanics in Congress (including Menendez) on the issue of relations with Cuba. While Cuban-American critics of Fidel Castro's regime support tougher economic sanctions against Cuba, Serrano in the 105th Congress

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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One of the most economically devastated areas in the United States, the mostly Hispanic South Bronx had by the 1970s become a metaphor for the nation's urban ills. Its stretches of refuse-strewn lots and burned-out buildings provided backdrops for visiting politicians of both parties, who prescribed varying solutions to revive the inner cities. Residents have complained bitterly that these photo sessions have resulted in no improvements for the low-income communities of the South Bronx.

But the fragile seedlings of an economic turnaround have begun to take root in parts of the area that forms the 16th. Like frontier settlements, several developments of single-family homes and low-rise apartments have been built on vacated lots by subsidized economic development organizations and occupied by working-class, minority families. These areas, together with more settled, middle-class Hispanic communities in the eastern part of the 16th, provide hope for improvement.

The South Bronx, overtaken by the post-World War II influx of Hispanics to New York City, has since 1970 elected Democrats of Puerto Rican origin to the House. That year, Herman Badillo became the first Puerto Rican to serve in Congress. In 1979, he was succeeded by Robert Garcia, who resigned after being convicted in the Wedtech scandal. His conviction later was overturned on appeal. In 1990, Serrano stepped in and has easily held the seat since.

Once largely the province of working-class white ethnics, Jews and blacks, the 16th's territory is now 60 percent Hispanic. About a third of the residents are non-Hispanic blacks; fewer than 5 percent are non-Hispanic whites, one of the lowest proportions in any district.

NEW YORK 16 South Bronx

Overwhelming Democratic strength here is consistent with other mainly minority districts. Another consistent pattern is low voter turnout, a result of such factors as recent immigration status, political alienation and poverty.

A range of inner-city problems affects the residents of the 16th. It has the lowest median family income of the 435 House districts. More than 40 percent of all residents (and nearly half the Hispanic residents) live in poverty. Less than half of the people 25 or older have high school diplomas.

The hardest-pressed communities, such as Mott Haven, Melrose, Morrisania and East Tremont, are in the south and central parts of the district. Some of the new developments are scattered here among the ruins of urban decay. Across the Bronx River, in Soundview and Clason Point, are communities of middle-class Hispanic homeowners.

Once a major factory area, the South Bronx still has a handful-of-industrial employers, as well as two large wholesale food centers, the Hunts Point and the Bronx terminal markets; Yankee Stadium is near the latter, though owner George Steinbrenner has threatened to take the team out of the borough. The 16th comes to a northern point in Bronx Park, site of the Bronx Zoo and the New York Botanical Garden.

1990 Population: 580,338. White 116,116 (20%), Black 244,636 (42%), Other 219,586 (38%). Hispanic origin 349,190 (60%). 18 and over 385,188 (66%), 62 and over 51,111 (9%). Median age: 27.

reintroduced legislation to repeal two measures, including the Helms-Burton Act just enacted in 1996, that tightened the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

"It is inhumane to starve the Cuban people, punishing them with a trade embargo designed to bend their government to our political will," Serrano said.

He also introduced legislation removing restrictions on American citizens traveling to Cuba, and he backed allowing the United States and Cuba to open news bureaus in each other's countries. Cable News Network already has received permission from the Cuban government for a bureau in Havana. Serrano said that increased exchanges of information between Cubans and Americans will spur a peaceful democratic transition in Cuba.

In the 105th Congress, Serrano also introduced a constitutional amendment to repeal the 22nd Amendment, which limits the president to two four-year terms, and a measure, sponsored by Republican Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York in the Senate, to award a congressional gold medal to Frank Sinatra for his contributions to humanitarian causes and the entertainment industry.

In the 103rd, Serrano served as chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. In that role, he frequently rose to object to numerous amendments aimed at curtailing benefits for illegal and, in some cases, legal immigrants. His defense of the nation's immigrants grows out of strong personal experience. His colleagues still remember a moving speech Serrano delivered on the House floor shortly after he was sworn in. In the speech he recalled how his parents, now deceased, immigrated to the United States from Puerto Rico when he was 7.

During Serrano's term as caucus chairman, he often found himself on the House floor trying to deflect members' anger about immigrants. Some lawmakers, particularly from border states, argued that providing benefits to illegal immigrants was bankrupting state and federal coffers.

One of the first vehicles for this debate was President Clinton's National Service bill. In July 1993, the House rejected an amendment by California Republican Bill Baker to require charities and other National Service participants to have a written policy of providing no services to illegal aliens and to report illegals to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. "This doesn't strengthen the country," Serrano responded. "It just makes us look like really bad people."

At Home: Although Serrano's state Assembly career had made him a fixture in New York Hispanic politics, his avenues for advancement had looked narrow before 1989. Democratic Rep. Robert Garcia, first elected in 1978, was still in his 50s and seemed unlikely to leave his House seat soon.

But Garcia's career was shattered by his October 1989 conviction on charges of extortion. The case involved Wedtech Corp., a Bronx defense contractor that had aggressively pursued business under minority set-aside programs in the 1980s. Wedtech's lobbying techniques included bribes to several politicians.

Garcia resigned his seat in what was then the 18th District in January 1990, and a March election was set to fill his unexpired term. Serrano moved quickly to stake his claim.

Serrano breezed to the Democratic House nomination despite some dissent from African-American activists incensed at references to the 18th, then nearly half black, as a "Puerto Rican"

seat. Bronx Republican officials, who seldom contest Democratic dominance in the South Bronx, probed that rift by running black businessman Simeon Golar. But Serrano ran away with 92 percent of the vote in the special election. He won a full term with 93 percent that November.

As a politician in a place plagued by unemployment and crime, Serrano has touted his own up-from-poverty story. An immigrant who was raised in a housing project, Serrano graduated from a vocational high school and served in the Army. Thereafter, he worked for a New York City bank and took a position on a community school board in the Bronx that helped him develop a core group of political allies.

In 1974, those contacts helped him win a state Assembly seat. By 1983, he was chairman of the Assembly Education Committee, a post from which he could look out for schools in New York City in general and for his minority constituents in particular.

Serrano twice sought the office of Bronx borough president. In 1985, he nearly upset incumbent Democrat Stanley Simon in a primary. Two years later, Serrano failed to become the party's appointed interim replacement for Simon, who also had been convicted in the Wedtech case and forced from office.

In 1992, the already well-entrenched Serrano gained insurance from a House redistricting plan that made his district more Hispanic.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General Jose E. Serrano (D,L) Rodney Torres (R)	95,568 2,8 7 8	(96%) (3%)
1994 General Jose E. Serrano (D,L) Michael Walters (C)	58,572 2,257	(96%) (4%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (91%) 1990 (93%) 1990† (92%)

† Special election

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expend- itures
1996 Serrano (D)	\$75,611	\$ 58,352 (77%	\$149,752
1994 Serrano (D)	\$ 172,030	\$91,563 (53%	\$ 125,441

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

	DID:::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::				
	1996		1992		
D	117,624 (94%)	D	100,602 (81%)		
R	4.825 (4%)	R	18,834 (15%)		
	1.862 (2%)	- 1	4.042 (3%)		

KEY VOTES

1997	N
Ban "partial birth" abortions	14
1996	N
Approve farm bill	N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	N
Increase minimum wage	Y
Freeze defense sponding	Y
Freeze defense spending	N
Approve welfare overhaul	
1995	k (
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Reduce projected interior spending cuts	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	• • •

VOTING STUDIES

Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition		
Year	Š	Ö	S	٥ `	S	0
1996	78	18	95	4	12	86
1995	84	12	93	3	8	90
1994	71	26	94	2	8	89
1993	74	23	94	1	9	89
1992	ģ	89	90	3	4	92
1991	19	71	86	3	5	89

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	r/a	19	0
1995	100	100	13	4
1994	95	78	42	0
1993	100	100	0	4
1992	95	91	13	0
1001	ากัก	100	10	0

2 Ed Pastor (D)

Of Phoenix — Elected 1991; 3rd full term

Biographical Information

Born: June 28, 1943, Claypool, Ariz.

Education: Arizona State U., B.S. 1966, J.O. 1974.
Occupation: Teacher; gubernatorial aide; public policy

Family: Wife, Verma Mendez; two children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Maricopa County Board of Supervisors,

1977-91.

Capitol Office: 2465 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4065.

Committees

Appropriations
Energy & Water Development; Transportation



In Washington: The electoral fortunes of the Democratic Party have bounced Pastor around a good bit since he came to Congress in 1991, but in the the 105th Congress he is happy to be back where he started in the 103rd: on the Appropriations Committee.

His subcommittee assignments there are Energy and Water Development, whose work is important in the arid West; and Transportation, which in the 105th is working on the massive reauthorization bill funding road, public transit and other transportation projects.

Pastor was first appointed to Appropriations after the 1992 election. The large group of Democrats first elected that November insisted that they get a share of the openings on top committees. Democratic leaders tapped Pastor for Appropriations; although not a true freshman, he was considered part of the class of 1992 for organizational purposes because he had won a 1991 special election to replace veteran Democratic Rep. Morris K. Udall.

But after just one term, Pastor got booted off Appropriations. The 1994 elections turned the House over to the GOP, and party ratios on committees shifted in favor of the new majority. With the "last on, first off" rule applying, Pastor was among the junior members who did not make the cut for the diminished number of Democratic seats on Appropriations.

Although the 1996 election kept the GOP in control, enough Democrats on Appropriations retired or sought higher office to make room in 1997 for Pastor and several others to return to the panel for the 105th.

The Republican surge to power in 1994 complicated Pastor's life in another regard. An active member of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, he was elected chairman of the group in November 1994, just as the new GOP leadership announced it was taking away the budgets, staffs and offices of 28 House legislative service organizations (LSOs), including the Hispanic caucus.

Although the group still could meet, any staff work would have to be done from members' personal offices. Pastor defended the caucus after his election as chairman, saying, "It is important to have some means to augment or increase the visibility of those groups in Congress which are in the minority."

Republicans did not budge on the LSO ban, but there was some good news for the Hispanic Caucus at the end of Pastor's two-year term as chairman: Its ranks increased by two with the election in 1996 of Democrat Silvestre Reyes of Texas, who replaced retiring Democratic Rep. Ronald D. Coleman, and California Democrat Loretta Sanchez, who knocked out GOP Rep. Robert K. Dornan.

During his tenure leading the caucus, Pastor and his Hispanic colleagues put up a fight against Republican efforts to clamp down on illegal immigration and on government services and benefits provided to immigrants.

In the House, Republicans first pushed a bill combining legal and illegal immigration issues. It proposed further limits on the number of immigrants admitted to the country legally each year and barred legal immigrants from receiving certain government benefits, and it sought to prevent illegal immigration by beefing up the Border Patrol, establishing new methods for conducting background checks, and denying illegal immigrants certain federal benefits.

Pastor and other Democrats targeted the provisions dealing with legal immigration for special criticism, making the case that the bill was punishing people who had played by the rules. Their efforts bore some fruit, as the House voted to strike most of the language on legal immigration from the broader immigration conference report. The House did, however pass a controversial amendment to deny public education to illegal immigrants, a proposal Pastor and his allies strongly opposed.

The Senate passed a bill dealing exclusively with illegal immigration, and controversy over the public schooling amendment hindered the two chambers from reaching agreement. The schooling provision ultimately was dropped in the inter-

The 2nd is Arizona's most Hispanic and most Democratic district. Redistricting in 1992 gave the 2nd a bare Hispanic-majority population: 50 percent, up from 36 percent in the 1980s. Hispanics make up 45 percent of the voting-age population.

Some Hispanic activists lobbied mapmakers for a heavier minority concentration, but Pastor had no trouble winning here. He won his first reelection in 1992 with two-thirds of the vote as Bill Clinton's 51 percent tally in the 2nd was easily his best showing in any Arizona district. After experiencing only a slight drop-off in his 1994 victory margin, Pastor won again in 1996 with two-thirds of the vote.

Pima County (Tucson), located in the southwest, surpassed Maricopa County (Phoenix) in 1996 to account for the largest share of the district's votes (36 percent). Democrats are strong in Hispanic neighborhoods here, and also in the community surrounding the University of Arizona.

Just south of Tucson, the copper-mining town of Ajo and the San Xavier and Papago Indian reservations also favor Democrats. Tucson has begun to see the same influx of retirees and people attracted by high-tech companies that has transformed politics in other parts of Arizona. But Tucson's long Democratic tradition is still strong; Bill Clinton won 70 percent in the Pima County part of the 2nd in 1996.

Though the bulk of Pima County's land area lies within the boundaries of the 2nd, most of the county's residents live in eastern Tucson in the 5th District.

Most of the Maricopa vote also comes out of Hispanic areas. The south side of Phoenix, included in the 2nd, traditionally has been the city's poorest economically and most faithfully

ARIZONA 2 Southwest — Southwestern Tucson; southern Phoenix; Yuma

Democratic. Remapping strengthened the Democratic slant by including the minority neighborhoods near Sky Harbor Airport, which had been in the 1st District.

The most Republican part of the 2nd is on the district's western edge, in Yuma County. It casts about one-fifth of the total district vote, and it went for George Bush in 1992 and Bob Dole in 1996. Yuma also has backed Pastor's GOP challengers in 1992, 1994 and 1996, even though they lost overwhelmingly districtwide.

Incorporated as Arizona City in 1871 and renamed two years later, Yuma, the county seat, lies south of California on the Colorado River; it continues in its traditional role as a regional commercial crossroads. Interstate 8 running through the city heads west to San Diego. Yuma County's economic base is agricultural, but two military bases - the Yuma Marine Corps Air Station and Yuma Proving Grounds - contribute significantly to the economy.

Rounding out the 2nd is Santa Cruz County, where the heavily Hispanic border town of Nogales and its Mexican sister city of the same name are a major crossing point between the two countries. Clinton won Santa Cruz in 1992 but ran several percentage points below his district average. In 1996, he ran as well in Santa Cruz as he did throughout the district.

1990 Population: 610,871. White 367,125 (60%), Black 41,578 (7%), Other 202,168 (33%). Hispanic origin 308,256 (50%). 18 and over 414,281 (68%), 62 and over 72,554 (12%). Median age: 28.

est of reaching a compromise, but if that gave Pastor some cause for satisfaction, he still voted in September 1996 against the final immigration conference report. It was largely hammered out by House and Senate Republicans and the Clinton White House, without much input from congressional Democrats. The final bill included items that were in neither the House nor the Senate bill, including new restrictions on legal immigrants.

Also in the 104th, immigration issues were a component of the debate on overhauling the welfare system. Republicans argued that the nation's generous welfare benefits offered an incentive for people to enter the country, and they proposed denying various welfare benefits to legal immigrants.

Pastor objected vigorously to that proposal. "The United States is a nation of immigrants," he said in a Hispanic Caucus news release. "Immigrants are hardworking, taxpaying Americans who make substantial contributions to the U.S.

economy. Legal immigrants do not come to the United States just to get welfare. In fact, 95 percent of immigrants support themselves without welfare."

Over the course of the 104th, liberal Democrats had persuaded President Clinton to twice veto Republican welfare proposals. But with the 1996 election approaching, Clinton wanted to undercut a Republican campaign theme by coming to terms with congressional Republicans on welfare. The overhaul legislation enacted in August 1996 included language barring legal immigrants from receiving Supplemental Security Income benefits.

In the summer of 1996, Republicans brought forward a bill to make English the official language of the U.S. government. Proponents said the measure would save money, citing as one example the extra expense of having to print ballots in multiple languages in some areas. And they said that encouraging all U.S. residents to speak English would be a unifying force in society.

Pastor, unmoved, said the bill was unconstitutional, and that it would not have the unifying impact Republicans intended. "Language minorities want to learn English and participate in American institutions," he said. "But this legislation will further isolate non-native speakers of English and discourage them from fully integrating themselves into society."

The Hispanic Caucus introduced its own measure, "English Plus," which expressed the value of multilingualism to the nation, to counter the Republican initiative. Although the GOP measure passed in the House, it got no further.

At Home: Hispanics began making preparations to contend for the 2nd not long after the 1990 election; Udall had said he would retire at the end of the 102nd, but the transition came sooner than expected, after Udall, weakened by Parkinson's disease, resigned in May 1991.

The Democratic primary preceding the September special election was Pastor's biggest hurdle. (Democrats have a wide voter-registration advantage in the 2nd.) Tom Volgy, mayor of Tucson (Pima County), the 2nd's largest city, was his main opponent.

The five-candidate primary turned into a turf battle between Pastor and Volgy. Pima County residents long had considered the 2nd theirs; Pastor's base was Maricopa County (Phoenix), where he had served four terms on the Board of Supervisors. Pastor emphasized his 15 years of public service: He was an aide to former Democratic Gov. Raul Castro before being elected to the board.

Pastor was the establishment's choice, winning endorsements of both leading Hispanic and Anglo officeholders. Volgy ran well in Pima but finished a distant third in Maricopa. Pastor won with 37 percent of the vote, 5 points ahead of Volgy.

In the September special election, Pastor faced Republican Pat Conner, a Yuma County supervisor. He criticized Pastor for taking \$2,800 in campaign contributions from thrift executive Charles H. Keating Jr. in 1988 and a \$1,000 set of golf clubs from a lobbyist later indicted in a state corruption probe.

• The charges did not faze voters: Pastor had given the money from Keating to the IRS in 1988, and he had returned the clubs. Pastor won with a comfortable 56 percent of the vote, moved up to 66 percent in 1992 and has coasted since.

MOHER	ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Ed Pastor (D) Jim Buster (R) Alice Rappele (Upper	81,982 38,786	(65%) (31%)
Alice Bangle (LIBERT) 1994 General Ed Pastor (D)	5,333	(4%)
Robert MacDonald (R) James Bertrand (LIBERT)	62,589 32,797 5,060	(62%) (33%) (5%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (66%) 1991+(56%)

† Special election

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

1996 Pastor (D) Buster (R) 1994 Pastor (D)	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expend- itures
	\$486,368 \$103,398	\$242,835 (50%) \$18,066 (17%)	\$405,526 \$101,730
	\$368,594	\$206,804 (56%)	\$349,627
1997	KEY \	OTES	
Ban "partial birth" 1996 Approve farm bill	abortions		N

NYYYN

22722

Deny public education to illegal immigrants Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons Increase minimum wage Freeze defense spending Approve welfare overhaul 1995 Approve balanced-budget constitutional amend Relax Clean Water Administration	ment
Relax Clean Water Act regulations Oppose limits on environmental regulations Reduce projected Medicare spending Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cut	
5 Sperioling Cut	3

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

D R I	1996 81,502 (64%) 35,843 (28%) 9,256 (7%)	D R J	1992 74,588 (51%) 41,757 (29%) 28,767 (20%)
•	9,256 (7%)	1	28,767 (20%)

VOTING STUDIES

					,	
		lential port	Par Uni		Consei Coal	vative
Year	۲	0	•	•	COAL	HOD
1996			2	0	S	0
	75	20	89	10		
1995	83				43	55
		16	91	8	27	
1994	83	15	95			69
1993	86			5	42	58
	- 60	14	95	4		
1992	20	75			27	73
			89	9	25	73
1991	33†	67t	92†	- ·		
† Not	eliaible fi	or all reco	orded vote	/T	24†	76t
	J	o. a., , c.c.	ADED NOTE	·S.		

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

		J. GROOP	WHITES	
Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	ccus	4.514
1996	85			ACU
1995		n/a	38	5
	95	100	21	- 7
1994	80			4
1993		78	42	14
	90	92	27	1-
1992	85			4
1991		83	13	12
	83†	100†		
† Not eligible	for all rec	orded votes	25†	0†

46 Loretta Sanchez (D)

Of Garden Grove — Elected 1996, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Jan. 7, 1960, Lynwood, Calif.

Education: Chapman U., B.S. 1982; American U., M.B.A.

Occupation: Financial adviser; strategic management

Family: Husband, Stephen Simmons Brixey III.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Candidate for Anaheim City Council, 1994. Capitol Office: 1529 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-2965.

Committees

Education & Workforce

Oversight & Investigations; Postsecondary Education, Training & Life-Long Learning

National Security

Military Research & Development



The Path to Washington: Sanchez became a giant-killer with her stunning upset of Republican Rep. Robert K. Dornan. After absentee ballots indicated she would unseat Dornan by a narrow margin, Sanchez instantly turned into one of the biggest media stars of the Demo-

cratic class of 1996.

Party leaders awarded her seats on two committees: National Security, and Education and the Workforce.

Sanchez had run for office once before, finishing eighth in a field of 16 candidates competing for two spots on the Anaheim City Council in 1994. She ran under her married name of Brixey but chose her maiden name for the House race.

A businesswoman — the principal owner of AMIGA Associates, a public-sector consulting firm — Sanchez was able to exploit the shifting regional demographics that are undercutting Orange County's traditional image as a conservative bastion

Sanchez had been a Republican herself until 1992. Her parents immigrated from Mexico and met at a Los Angeles manufacturing plant, where her father was a machinist and her mother was a secretary who helped organize plant workers into a union.

Sanchez's effort was aided by unusually high turnout among Hispanic voters angry about a ballot initiative to end most state affirmative action programs. Sanchez supports such programs and opposes efforts to require that government publications be printed in English only.

Sanchez supports the rights of homosexuals and abortion rights and would not ban a particular abortion technique opponents call "partial birth" abortion.

She also favors targeted tax cuts and gun control. She took a tough stance against crime during the campaign, and she supports the death penalty.

Sanchez opposes flat tax plans and any reductions in the student loan program. Although Sanchez shares GOP concerns about the federal government's direct role in classroom education, she does not support private-school vouchers, preferring to improve public schools.

Her victory margin in the campaign might have come from suburbanites weary of Dornan's famously combative image, his staunch support of gun owners' rights and his unremitting opposition to abortion. (Dornan's fervent support of military spending, especially for the B-1 bomber, won him the sobriquet "B-1 Bob.")

Despite Orange County's conservative image, Dornan never had an electoral lock on the district. He invariably outspent his opponents by overwhelming margins, yet only once (in 1988) in nine victories did he reach 60 percent of the vote.

Returning to the district in 1996 after his unsuccessful campaign for the Republican presidential nomination, Dornan found the political landscape changed.

Though Sanchez had been considered an underdog even to win the Democratic nomination in a four-way field, she drew increasing support as the year went on from constituencies sensing Dornan's vulnerability.

National teachers' unions and abortion rights groups contributed to Sanchez's campaign. The partners of three openly gay members of Congress, including a Republican, hosted a Washington fundraiser, and her "get out the vote" effort was coordinated by a group still angry about Dornan's support of military aid to the Nicaraguan contras in the 1980s.

Sanchez's attacks on Dornan in numerous fliers mailed to district residents took their toll.

Dornan also engaged in negative attacks, criticizing Sanchez's association with Howard O. Kieffer, a three-time felon who volunteered on her primary campaign and lent it office space, phones and postage.

After it was clear that Dornan had lost, his vitriol increased. Told during a CNN appearance that Sanchez had suggested he accept defeat, Dornan said it was "a typical pond-scum lying charge reput on its BRARY ever.

PHOTOCOPY

The 46th is a blue-collar district, full of older suburban homes and younger families. Its defense subcontractors are the backbone of the region's large defense and aerospace companies. But as these industries flag in the post-Cold War era, so does the local economy.

Most of the Orange County 46th's population is contained within two cities, Santa Ana in the south and Garden Grove in the north.

Santa Ana, with 294,000 residents, is the area's hub and the seat of Orange County. It has the crime and gang problems typical of many California cities, and these problems are spilling into Garden Grove and adjacent districts. (Garden Grove has struggled with Asian gangs.)

Garden Grove is a more residential area than Santa Ana. It divides roughly into three sections: the western, more affluent part; the center, which is a mix of Vietnamese, Koreans and Hispanics; and the eastern, very heavily Hispanic part. Little Saigon sits just south of the district in Westminster.

Garden Grove is perhaps best known for the "positive thinking" television ministry of Robert Schuller and his Crystal Cathedral.

In recent years, there has been an influx of Indochinese refugees into Garden Grove, spurring a conservative backlash from some of its white, blue-collar workers. The city is 20 percent Asian and 23 percent Hispanic. The district at-large is half Hispanic — a percentage that is increasing — and 12 percent Asian.

The northern part of the 46th includes the southern part of Anaheim, a chunk that has the look and feel of Garden Grove, which it borders.

The 46th does not include the wealthier area of Anaheim off to the east known as Anaheim Hills, which is split between the 41st and 47th districts. The part of Anaheim that is in the 46th includes Disneyland, many of whose employees

CALIFORNIA 46 Part of Orange County; Santa Ana; Garden Grove

live in the district. The park employs about 9,000 in the winter and 12,000 in the summer. Thousands of jobs at a variety of hotels and other supporting businesses depend on the park.

Other than Disneyland, no one employer within the 46th drives its economy; the district is dotted with defense subcontractors and small businesses. Some residents head an hour west to the shipyard in Long Beach, but most scatter to companies all over Orange County.

Orange County's ideology generally matches that of the Republican Party. But the 46th, the least Republican of the county's congressional districts, is an exception. Though George Bush carried the 46th by a wide margin in 1988 and narrowly in 1992; the Democratic Party has a growing registration advantage.

Abysmal voter turnout continues to plague the 46th. Fewer than 105,000 ballots were cast in the 1996 presidential election, about 150,000 less than were tallied from the neighboring 47th. But Hispanics, perceiving Republicans as hostile to affirmative action and immigration (two contentious issues in California, especially in 1996), voted more solidly Democratic than before. That helped Sanchez oust conservative nine-term Republican Rep. Robert K. Dornan, and enabled Clinton to get 49 percent in the presidential race.

1990 Population: 571,380. White 380,053 (67%), Black 14,226 (2%), Other 177,101 (31%). Hispanic origin 285,529 (50%). 18 and over 405,602 (71%), 62 and over 49,393 (9%). Median age: 27.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
Loretta Sanchez (D) Robert K. Dornan (R) Lawrence J. Stafford (REF) Thomas E. Reimer (LIBERT) J. Carlos Aguirre (NL) 1996 Primary	47,964 46,980 3,235 2,333 1,972	(47%) (46%) (3%) (2%) (2%)
Loretta Sanchez (D) Michael P. "Mike" Farber (D) James "Jim" Prince (D) Robert J. Brennan (D)	7,142 6,125 5,574 1,758	(35%) (30%) (27%) (9%)

CAMPAIGN	FINANCE	

1996	Receipts	from PACs	itures
Sanchez (D)	\$823,120	\$237,439 (29%)	\$811,219
Dornan (R)	\$748,336	\$56,667 (8%)	\$741,984

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

	1996		1992
D	51,330 (49%)	D	44,352 (37%
R	42,780 (41%)	R	47,689 (40%
ı	8,229 (8%)	1	27,542 (23%)

KEY VOTES

Ban "partial birth" abortions

N

34 Esteban E. Torres (D)

Of West Covina — Elected 1982, 8th term

Biographical Information

Born: Jan. 27, 1930, Miami, Ariz.

Education: East Los Angeles College, 1959-63; California State U., Los Angeles, 1963-64; U. of Maryland, 1965; American U., 1966.

Military Service: Army, 1949-53.

Occupation: International trade executive; autoworker; labor

Family: Wife, Arcy Sanchez, five children.

Religion: Unspecified.

Political Career: Sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 1974; UNESCO ambassador, 1977-79. Capitol Office: 2269 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5256.

Committees

Appropriations

Foreign Operations, Export Financing & Related Programs;

Transportation

Banking and Financial Services



In Washington: Torres' loyalty to the Democratic leadership in Congress and its key constituencies, including organized labor, helped earn him a deputy whip's post in the 102nd Congress and a seat on the Appropriations Committee in the 103rd Congress.

Given Torres' close ties

to unions, his pledge in 1993 to vote for NAFTA (which most in the labor movement opposed) was a boost to the Clinton administration's efforts to line up support for the treaty. When the officials heading President Clinton's transition to a second term in 1996 went in search of a new secretary of Labor, Torres' name was in the mix.

A-labor leader for the United Auto Workers before he came to Congress, Torres earned consideration for the Cabinet post when opposing forces battled over two other candidates: White House Public Liaison aide Alexis Herman and former Democratic Sen. Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania, who was named to head Clinton's National Service program after his defeat for reelection in 1994. Labor groups such as the AFL-CIO favored Wofford, who they believed would be a stronger advocate for their interests, but female and black activists backed Herman, who is black.

With his Hispanic heritage and his labor background, Torres emerged as a possible compromise pick for the Labor post. The Wall Street Journal recommended Torres for the job because of his vote for NAFTA, and his candidacy for the Labor slot gained such momentum that NBC at one point mistakenly reported that Clinton had tapped Torres for the job and asked Herman to head the Small Business Administration instead. The Los Angeles Times reported that Torres was confident enough he was going to Labor that he encouraged his son-in-law to campaign for his House seat once he left it.

Torres' name also came up in connection with the vacancy for secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), but ultimately, Clinton chose Herman to head Labor and Andrew M. Cuomo to take the top job at HUD.

So Torres returned to his work on Appropriations, where in the 105th he gained a spot on the Transportation Subcommittee, putting him in a good position to defend California's interests as lawmakers on the companion Transportation and Infrastructure Committee consider reauthorization of the nation's highway and mass-transit programs.

Democratic leaders also indicated their continued affinity toward the Californian early in the 105th when they asked him to fill a temporary slot on Banking and Financial Services, where he had once served. He was appointed to the panel just before it began work on a Republican proposal for overhauling the nation's housing programs.

A former assembly line welder who sometimes shows off the tattoos on his hands from his days as a street gang member. Torres has opted for a quiet role in most of his activities. But in 1993 he was thrust into the limelight when it came time to vote on NAFTA. Torres was lobbied hard to vote against the pact and pushed by the Clinton administration to vote for it.

He voted yes — but for a price. He told Clinton he wanted the establishment of a jointly funded binational North American Development Bank (NADBank) that would help industries and workers hurt by the trade agreement. The White House agreed, and pledged \$225 million for the bank. In 1996, he appeared at the opening of the NADBank U.S. Community Adjustment and Investment Office.

When announcing his vote for the trade pact, Torres told the House: "What has surprised me is that my friends in the North American labor movement, so far, have failed to grasp the enormous opportunity and potential in the NAFTA for spreading the vision and reality of industrial democracy throughout this hemisphere."

Early in 1997, Torres found himself amid controversy again. An opponent of efforts to tighten sanctions against Cuba in 1996, he traveled with fellow Democrat Xavier Becerra of California, the new chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, to the island nation in December of that year. The trip, sponsored by San Antonio-based

The 34th is emerging as a middle-class Hispanic district that likes to vote Democratic; it is an almost ideal place for someone like Torres to run. It begins with more than one-third of East Los Angeles, runs east through Montebello and Pico Rivera, goes up north a bit for La Puente and drops down to pick up most of Whittier and all of Santa Fe Springs and Norwalk.

The section of East Los Angeles that is in the 34th is the heart of East L.A.'s business district. Stores are well-kept and generally are owned or operated by Hispanics. The area just to the north, around the 60 Freeway, is populated by what used to be called "Muppies," or Mexican yuppies, who have come in and fixed up many old homes.

Montebello is an upper middle-class Hispanic area, with a lot of home-grown residents who have never lived elsewhere. It lies to the east of the small city of East Los Angeles and is bordered by four freeways, making it a convenient for commuters. It is heavily Democratic: Torres took 68 percent of its vote in 1992, the first time he ran here.

Pico Rivera has been described as pure Middle America, Hispanic-style. This area also is very supportive of Torres. The biggest employer in the city is Northrop Grumman, which builds part of the B-2 bomber here. In 1994, the plant was downsized from about 7,800 employees to about 5,900 employees; it is scheduled to close in 1999.

Up in the district's northeastern corner, past Rose Hills Memorial Park (one of the country's largest cemeteries), is La Puente, a working-class, heavily Hispanic city with 37,000 residents and a registered-voter base that is about two-thirds Democratic.

Down south a bit, the district includes most of

CALIFORNIA 34 East Los Angeles County suburbs; West Covina

Whittier, the 34th's most Republican area. The city is still recovering from being the epicenter of an October 1987 earthquake. Some houses damaged in the quake have been repaired, but vacant lots are not uncommon. Multifamily homes are mixed closely with single-family homes in some areas, but not in the part of Whittier just outside the district, where half-million-dollar houses (and the GOP) dominate.

Farther south is Santa Fe Springs, an industrial area featuring light manufacturing and oil wells. Two-thirds of the city's 15,500 residents are Hispanic, but they have not flexed their political muscles here as they have elsewhere.

At the southern end of the 34th is Norwalk, the district's largest city with 94,000 residents. Though the city has close to a majority of Hispanics and a majority of Democrats, residents tend to be conservative-minded in presidential voting. However, Norwalk went heavily for Bill Clinton in 1992. The city is bounded by four freeways, including the Glenn Anderson, which was completed in 1994. Los Angeles' Green Line light rail opened in 1995, giving the area a boost.

Bill Clinton easily carried the district in the 1996 presidential race, getting 64 percent of the votes. Torres won an eighth House term just as comfortably, with 68 percent.

1990 Population: 573,047. White 325,099 (57%), Black 11,060 (2%), Other 236,888 (41%). Hispanic origin 357,143 (62%). 18 and over 402,266 (70%), 62 and over 64,984 (11%). Median age: 29.

Southwest Voter Research Institute, prompted Cuban-American Reps. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, both Florida Republicans, to resign from the Hispanic Caucus in protest in January 1997.

Torres, who did not see his father again after his father was deported during the Depression when Torres was five, has been active in the debate over immigration. He was given the role of offering a Democratic leadership-backed amendment when the Appropriations Committee in February 1994 considered a bill providing emergency earthquake relief to California.

The amendment, which was adopted by the committee, modified a proposal by California GOP Rep. Ron Packard that would have cut off all disaster aid, except for emergency medical assistance, to illegal immigrants. Under Torres' amendment, illegal immigrants would remain eligible for emergency food, shelter, medical services and safety programs.

In 1996, he voted against immigration overhaul legislation the GOP pushed to crack down on illegal immigrants. It passed 305-123.

On Banking, where he served through the 102nd Congress, Torres was generally comfortable with the agenda of activist liberal Democrats who called the shots. He worked as a conciliator, smoothing the rough edges of members' personal and philosophical conflicts to help keep legislation moving. He was one of a small group of Democrats on good terms with the panel's irascible chairman, Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas.

The most contentious battle Torres took on was an attempt to strengthen federal regulation of the nation's credit reporting industry. The proposal, which gives consumers greater access to their credit histories and makes it easier for them to correct errors, died in the 102nd Congress because of opposition from credit bureaus and their congressional allies, but it gained momentum in the 103rd and became law as part of the fis-

CALIFORNIA

cal 1997 omnibus spending bill. Torres said "the monumental change ... means peace of mind for millions of Americans."

Although his past lives as a former street-gang member and assembly line worker give Torres a "tough guy" image, he has a gentler side. In the spring of 1993, a retrospective of his artwork was shown in a Washington, D.C., gallery, and some of his artwork is featured on his World Wide Web page. He has created oil and acrylic paintings, prints, and pencil and ink sketches.

"Eventually someday I'd like to be able to retire to my art. It's a way of life, a way of experiencing life, both as an artist and activist," Torres told The Washington Post. "There's a lot of frustration and revolt in me that comes out in my work."

His fondness for the arts earned Torres the nomination of Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., to sit on the 17-member Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution in March 1997. The first Latino member of Congress appointed to the board, he will help set policy for and oversee the management of the Smithsonian, which he has criticized for ignoring Hispanics' contributions to American development and culture.

At Home: Torres was an assembly line welder in Los Angeles during the 1950s and became active in the United Auto Workers. In the 1960s, he was tapped by UAW President Walter Reuther to start a community action project in heavily Hispanic East Los Angeles. In 1968, Torres founded The East Los Angeles Community Union

(TELACU), which grew into one of the country's largest anti-poverty agencies.

Torres developed Democratic contacts as an activist, but he lost a 1974 primary in his initial bid for the House. Soon thereafter he found his way into President Jimmy Carter's administration as an adviser on Hispanic affairs, and later he was named ambassador to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). When he made his second House bid in 1982, Torres billed his campaign as "Autoworker to Ambassador, the American Dream."

Torres' second try for Congress proved far easier than his first. He was running in an open 34th District created by redistricting, and he had help from the political organizations of Democrats Henry A. Waxman and Howard L. Berman. In the primary, he held off former Democratic Rep. Jim Lloyd (who had lost his seat in a neighboring district in 1980 to Republican David Dreier). In the general election Torres prevailed with 57 percent.

Since then, he has regularly won a vote share of 60 percent or better. Redistricting in 1992 changed his district little geographically and not at all politically. The 68 percent he won in 1996 was his best ever.

While cruising to re-election every two years, Torres has kept an eye on Los Angeles politics. In 1990, he hinted at a run for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. But GOP incumbent Pete Schabarum, instead of announcing that he would step down, simply failed to file as a candidate by the March 1990 deadline. By that time, Torres had filed to run again for the House.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General *		
Esteban E. Torres (D)	94,730	(68%)
David G. Nunez (R)	36,852	(27%)
J. Walter Scott (AMI)	4,122	(3%)
David Argall (LIBERT)	2,736	(2%)
1994 General		
Esteban E. Torres (D)	72,439	(62%)
Albert J. Nunez (R)	40,068	(34%)
Carl M. "Marty" Swinney (LIBERT)	4,921	(4%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (61%) 1990 (61%) 1988 (63%) 1986 (60%) 1984 (60%) 1982 (57%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

1996	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expend- itures
Torres (D) Nunez (R) 1994	\$186,727 \$11,752	\$66,200 (35%) \$266 (2%)	\$207,398 \$11,171
Torres (D) Nunez (R)	\$236,822 \$5,153	\$98,745 (42%) \$14 (0%)	\$178,972 \$5,115

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

	1996		1992
D	91,603 (64%)	D	78,889 (51%)
R	39,277 (27%)	R	48,181 (31%)
ι	10,396 (7%)	ŧ	27,944 (18%)

KEY VOTES

1997 Ban "partial birth" abortions	- N
1996 Approve farm bill	N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	N
Increase minimum wage	Υ
Freeze defense spending	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	N
1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	.Α.
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N

VOTING STUDIES

	Presid Sup	ential port	Par Uni		Conser Coali	
Year	s '	, o	S	Ō	S	0
1996	81	15	91	5	25	69
1995	86	10	85	6	20	73
1994	90	6	90	2	25	67
1993	87	11	86	3	16	77
1992	20	70	84	5	19	73
1991	25	70	94	3	14	84

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	AÇU
1996	100	r√a	14	0
1995	90	100	21	4
1994	75	75	42	10
1993	90	92	20	0
1992	85	92	29	4
1991	80	92	20	5

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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18 Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R)

Of Miami — Elected 1989; 4th full term

Biographical Information

Born: July 15, 1952, Havana, Cuba.

Education: Miami-Dade Community College, A.A. 1972; Florida International U., B.A. 1975, M.S. 1986.

Occupation: Teacher; private school administrator.

Family: Husband, Dexter Lehtinen; two children, two stepchildren.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Fla. House, 1983-87; Fla. Senate, 1987-89.

Capitol Office: 2440 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-3931.

Committees

Government Reform & Oversight

District of Columbia; National Security, International Affairs & Criminal Justice

International Relations

International Economic Policy & Trade (chairwoman); International Operations & Human Rights; Western Hemisphere



In Washington: Republicans are happy to have minorities in their ranks in order to broaden the party's image, and as the first Cuban-American elected to Congress, Ros-Lehtinen has gained some prominence in the House. An ardent foe of Fidel Cuban President Castro, she has happily affil-

iated with the GOP conservatives who share her distaste for Castro.

But as many Republicans in the 104th Congress began to put forth conservative views on immigration, Ros-Lehtinen found herself voting against major GOP agenda items. She opposed measures overhauling the welfare system, curbing illegal immigration and designating English as America's official language. She is also sympathetic to gun control efforts and some labor-backed positions.

Ros-Lehtinen came to Miami from Cuba when she was seven and, like her Florida Republican colleague Lincoln Diaz-Balart, who is also a Cuban immigrant, she refused to sign the GOP's "Contract With America." They objected to provisions in its welfare reform section that proposed denying some federal benefits to legal immigrants. When the final welfare reform bill passed the House in July 1996, Ros-Lehtinen and Diaz-Balart were the only two Republicans voting against it.

When the House considered the GOP's first welfare overhaul bill in March 1995, Ros-Lehtinen addressed what she called an "anti-immigrant sentiment" that is "growing from an unreal perception that immigrants only come to the United States to take advantage of our generous society and become a burden on the state while never integrating nor becoming productive citizens." She told the House: "Nothing could be further from the truth. Immigrants have contributed greatly to all facets of American life in the economic, cultural, and political fields. I appeal to my colleagues to not be swayed by those who would place all of the problems of this nation on the backs of immigrants."

Ros-Lehtinen also argued against a Republican measure designed to curb illegal immigration

through tighter border controls and easier deportation proceedings. Although the original bill had included provisions aimed at reducing the flow of legal immigrants, those provisions were later stripped out. Even so, Ros-Lehtinen opposed the final measure saying it was unnecessarily antiimmigrant. "I don't think this bill is in the American tradition," she said. "I don't think it really stems the problems of illegal immigration, and it puts new restrictions on legal immigrants and U.S. citizens."

The immigration bill was stalled most of 1996 because of a provision, authored by California conservative Republican Elton Gallegly, that would have allowed states to deny illegal immigrants public schooling. In the end, House conferees agreed to drop the provision, in exchange for a vote on it as a free-standing bill. The House passed it in September 1996, 254-175, but it went no further. Ros-Lehtinen voted against the bill, calling it a "mean-spirited attempt that will hold children responsible for their parents' actions."

Their unhappiness with the welfare and immigration bills prompted Ros-Lehtinen and Diaz-Balart in March 1996 to rejoin the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, which is dominated by House Democrats. They had dropped out at the start of the 104th to comply with the spirit of the GOP move to do away with such organizations. But they later decided it was important to show unity against anti-immigrant feelings.

However, in January 1997, Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen resigned again from the caucus, this time to protest that its chairman, Xavier Becerra, D-Calif., took a trip to Cuba in December 1996.

Ros-Lehtinen, a former teacher and owner of a bilingual private school in south Florida, also upbraided the House for passing a GOP bill declaring English the official language of the federal government. She said immigrants to the United States know they need to learn English and "no law is needed to stress this." But the bill passed, 259-169, in August 1996.

She broke ranks with her party in 1996 and voted to raise the minimum wage by 90 cents and against exempting small businesses from the wage increase. Also in 1996, Ros-Lehtinen was one of 42 Republicans to vote against repealing the ban on This is one of two Hispanic-majority Florida districts. Although it includes much of downtown Miami, its spiritual heart is the innercity neighborhood-known as Little Havana.

Many of Miami's Cubans came to this country in the 1960s, fleeing Castro's takeover. Many were well-educated professionals and businesspeople in Cuba, and they have achieved positions of status here. The Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Haitians, Nicaraguans and Colombians who have arrived more recently tend to be unskilled workers.

The Cuban-American community for a time was consumed with discussing and plotting to overthrow Castro; U.S. elections were not a focus. They are now. The GOP's hawkish anti-communist stance helped persuade most Cuban voters to register Republican, making this a safe GOP district. The 18th is hardly homogeneous, however. And Bill Clinton narrowed what had been a more than 2-1 margin in favor of GOP presidential candidates.

South Miami Beach, traditionally home to Jewish retirees, is attracting young professionals and some Hispanics. It features the art deco district of colorful hotels. Downtown Miami is a nerve center for international trade and finance. Brickell Avenue contains high-rise offices and residences for Hispanics and the upper middle class; it is a swing area politically.

Across a causeway is Key Biscayne, an upper middle-class suburb and one of the city's first areas to turn Republican. Richard M. Nixon used to vacation here. Back on the mainland and heading south from downtown along the coast is Coconut Grove, a trendy neighborhood that attracts young liberals. Next comes Coral Gables; home of the University of Miami. The southern end of Coral Gables is more Anglo and has expensive houses and yacht clubs.

FLORIDA 18 Southeast — Parts of Dade County; part of Miami

The 18th includes the east side of Kendall, an upper middle-class suburban area that leans Republican. The district extends farther south, to include small parts of Cutler Ridge and Perrine, then loops around Homestead Air Reserve Base into South Miami Heights. (Homestead, formerly an Air Force base, slated for closure, reopened in 1994 as a partially commercialized air reserve base.) This area includes blue-collar, conservative Democrats and Cubans and was hit by Hurricane Andrew in 1992.

The west side of Kendall is somewhat more Democratic and is home to young professionals, white-collar workers, some Cubans and a Jewish community. Olympia Heights and Westchester attract middle-class Cuban-Americans from Miami who want greener spaces. Florida International University (nearly 30,000 students) is in Westchester.

Most of Miami in the 18th is south of the Miami River except for Allapattah, an older section of the city that has become more Hispanic. The Cubans who remain in Little Havana tend to be older and less affluent. Crime tends to be more of a problem with recent refugees. The west side of the city is also predominantly Hispanic but more middle-class. The Orange Bowl is in the district, as is most of Miami International Airport.

1990 Population: 562,519. White 499,210 (89%), Black 23,351 (4%), Other 39,958 (7%). Hispanic origin 375,148 (67%). 18 and over 450,048 (80%), 62 and over 116,996 (21%). Median age: 38.

certain semiautomatic assault-style weapons. In the previous Congress, she had supported the assault weapons ban as well as a bill requiring a waiting period before the purchase of a handgun.

Despite disagreements with her party on its attitude toward immigrants, Ros-Lehtinen supports other GOP doctrine, including efforts to shrink the government and rein in federal spending. As a member of the International Relations Committee, she backed committee bills that aimed to reduce foreign aid spending and to terminate certain international agencies, such as the Agency for International Development, United States Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

As chairman of the Africa Subcommittee in the 104th, she opposed an amendment in May 1995 to the foreign aid bill that would have increased aid to Africa from \$629 million to \$802 million. She worried that if Africa received more aid, that would likely mean less for Latin America and the

Caribbean, areas she said are "of great concern to every member of the Florida delegation." In the 105th, she chairs the International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee.

Ros-Lehtinen's deep and abiding interest in the House has been to bring down Castro. To that end, she was a proponent of the so-called Helms-Burton bill — named for its sponsors, Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina and Indiana GOP Rep. Dan Burton — that was designed to punish foreign companies that invest in Cuba. The Clinton administration had at first opposed the measure because of sharp criticism from the European Union and Canada, who complained of U.S. meddling in their trade practices.

But Clinton ended up supporting the measure after February 1996, when Cuban military planes shot down two civilian aircraft being flown toward the island nation by Cuban-American opponents of Castro, killing four.

After intense negotiations with the administra-

tion, House and Senate conferees hammered out a final bill that was harder on Castro's government than either the original House or Senate bill. "The Helms-Burton bill will penalize those who have become Castro's new patron saviors — foreign investors who callously traffic in American confiscated properties in Cuba to profit from the misery of the Cuban worker," Ros-Lehtinen said.

She was particularly outraged when Castro made a visit to New York in the fall of 1995. She took to the House floor to bitterly denounce those members of the House who met with the "Cuban tyrant." Ros-Lehtinen said "it was quite revolting to see how this dictator" was warmly greeted in the Bronx "by three of my colleagues from the other side of the aisle who hail from New York City," who she said ignored the "the well-known repression of the Castro regime.

At Home: After entering the special election to replace the late Democrat Claude Pepper in 1989, Ros-Lehtinen was instantly the leading contender for the GOP nomination.

She has stood out politically since 1982, when she became, at age 30, the first Hispanic elected to the state Legislature. Although not a major power broker in Tallahassee, Ros-Lehtinen was an articulate campaigner and leading member of South Florida's Cuban-American community.

That community tends to vote Republican, and national GOP strategists were itching to rally that vote and snatch the 18th from Democratic hands. Ros-Lehtinen easily beat three other candidates for the GOP nomination.

Some Democratic insiders, building their own

bridges to Cuban-Americans, backed Rosario Kennedy, also a Cuban-American. But Gerald Richman, a Miami Beach lawyer with limited political experience, beat Kennedy in a runoff.

While Democrats struggled to unify, Ros-Lehtinen enjoyed generous GOP support, including visits from President George Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle. To reach the 18th's Jewish voters, Ros-Lehtinen stressed her support for Israel, traveling there during the campaign.

Richman, who is Jewish, reacted to GOP suggestions that Cuban-Americans deserved a voice in Congress by saying the 18th was "an American seat." Although Ros- Lehtinen and some media criticized Richman's comment as bigoted, he did strike a chord with some voters. Ros-Lehtinen won, but by a smaller margin than anticipated.

Richman's showing led some to believe Ros-Lehtinen's re-election was uncertain. But she prepared well, and several formidable Democrats skipped the 1990 race. She won 60 percent against the Democratic nominee, industrialist Bernard Anscher, who was one of the 1989 primary losers.

Her 1992 Democratic opponent, lawyer Magda Montiel Davis, criticized Ros-Lehtinen's anti-abortion stance and called for more travel and communication with Cuba. Ros-Lehtinen responded with a TV ad that tried to link Davis, through her husband's legal work, to Castro and former Panamanian leader Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. The incumbent won 2-to-1 in a redrawn district that was 67 percent Hispanic (up from 51 percent within the previous district lines). In 1994 and 1996, Ros-Lehtinen was unopposed.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General		
lleana Ros-Lehtinen (R)		unopposed
1994 General		anopposed
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Previous Winning Percentages:	1902	unopposed
1989+ (5204)	1332	(07 70) 1990 (00%)

† Special election

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

1996	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expend- itures
Ros-Lehtinen (R) 1994	\$485,356	\$136,591 (28%)	\$163,902
Ros-Lehtinen (R)	\$464,277	\$99 986 (22%)	£1/12 201

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

_	1996		1992
D	71,654 (43%)	D	55,119 (34%)
R	85,998 (52%)	R	92,422 (56%)
ı	7,788 (5%)	1	16,940 (10%)

KEY VOTES

1997	
Ban "partial birth" abortions	v
1996	ı
Approve farm bill	v
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	
Repeal han on costain asset in	N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	N
Increase minimum wage	Ÿ
Freeze defense spending	Ń
Approve welfare overhaul	
1995	N
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	
Reduce projected Medicare spending	.'.
Against Projection Medicale Shelldillid	Y
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	v

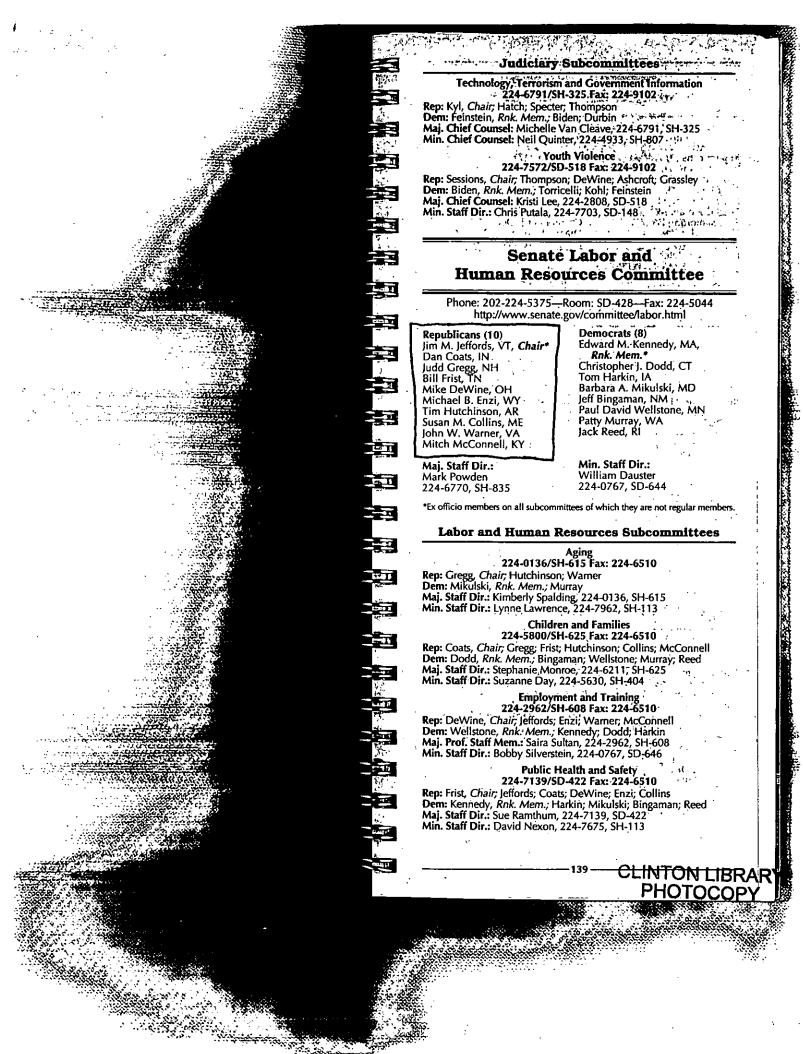
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Hunter, Duncan (R-52nd CA)	2265	225-5672	41	_
Hutchinson, Asa (R-3rd AR)	1535	225-4301	31	==
Hyde, Henry J. (R-6th IL)	2110	225-4561	54	
•	320	225-6030	107	
Inglis, Bob (R-4th SC) Istook, Ernest, Jr. (R-5th OK)	119	225-2132	99	武
	313	225-0773	54	
Jackson, Jesse, Jr. (D-2nd IL) Jefferson, William J. (D-2nd LA)	240	225-6636	64	
Jenkins, William L. (R-1st TN)	1708	225-6356	108	
John, Chris (D-7th LA)	1504	225-2031	65	
Johnson, Eddie Bernice (D-30th TX)	1123	225-8885	115	
Johnson, Jay W. (D-8th WI)	1313	225-5665	124	
Johnson, Nancy L. (R-6th CT)	343	225-4476	44	$\overline{\Pi}$
Johnson, Sam (R-3rd TX)	1030	225-4201	111	-
Jones, Walter, Jr. (R-3rd NC)	422	225-3415	92	ne-
Kanjorski, Paul E. (D-11th PA)	2353	225-6511	103	112
Kaptur, Marcy (D-9th OH)	2311	225-4146	96	
Kasich, John R. (R-12th OH)	1111	225-5355	97	86
Kelly, Sue W. (R-19th NY)	1222	225-5441	89	-
Kennedy, Joseph P. II (D-8th MA)	2242	225-5111	69	15 .3
Kennedy, Patrick J. (D-1st RI)	312	225-4911		7
Kennelly, Barbara B. (D-1st CT)	201	225-2265		
Kildee, Dale E. (D-9th MI)	2 187	225-3611		R ≓
Kilpatrick, Carolyn C. (D-15th Ml)	503	225-2261		
Kim, Jay (R-41st CA)	227	225-3201		_
Kind, Ronald J. (D-3rd WI)	1713	225-5506	0.0	
King, Peter (R-3rd NY)	403	225-7896		
Kingston, Jack (R-1st GA)	1507	225-5831		
Kleczka, Jerry (D-4th WI)	2301	225-4572		Щ
Klink, Ron (D-4th PA)	125	225-2565		
Klug, Scott (R-2nd WI)	2331	225-2906		ត្តា
Knollenberg, Joseph (R-11th MI)	1511	225-5802		
Kolbe, Jim (R-5th AZ)	205	225-2542		
Kucinich, Dennis J. (D-10th OH)	1730	225-5871		
LaFalce, John J. (D-29th NY)	2310	225-323		
LaHood, Ray (R-18th IL)	329	225-620		
Lampson, Nicholas V. (D-9th TX)	417	225-656		2
Lantos, Tom (D-12th CA)	2217	225-353	1 34	